

Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8675
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
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AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY DJIBOUTI
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
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AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
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AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 NAIROBI 10083

FROM BEYER

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PEP, KE
SUBJ: FOREIGN MINISTER DISCUSSES PROBLEMS IN KENYAN FOREIGN
AFFAIRS

1. SUMMARY: FOREIGN MINISTER WAIYAKI PROMPTLY RECEIVED
DIRECTOR-DESIGNATE AF/E FOR DETAILED DISCUSSIONS KENYAN
FOREIGN POLICY PROBLEMS. ON HORN, WAIYAKI NOTED KENYA
REMAINS CLOSE TO MENGISTU REGIME AS IT WAS TO EMPERIAL
GOVERNMENT. WAIYAKI BELIEVES THAT PRESENT ETHIOPIAN
FOREIGN POLICY GOALS ARE REMARKABLY SIMILAR TO THOSE TO
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HAILLE SELASSIE. KENYANS, IN SUM, CONTINUE TO BELIEVE
THAT ETHIOPIAN NATIONALISM WILL, IN TIME, DOMINATE
CURRENT MARXIST RHETORIC/ WAIYAKI URGED, THEREFORE, THAT US
SEEK TO IMPROVE ITS RELATIONS WITH ETHIOPIA.
SOMALIA: KENYA REMAINS SUSPICIOUS OF SOMALI INTENTIONS,
IN GOOD PART BECAUSE KENYAN OFFICIALS DISTRUST SIAD BARRE.
SAUDI ARABIA: WAIYAKI RECOGNIZED SAUDI INTERESTS IN HORN

BUT THOUGHT THEY WERE BETTING ON WRONG HORSE BY SUPPORTING SOMALIA RATHER THAN TRYING TO BUILD FRIENDSHIP WITH ETHIOPIA. UGANDA: SINCE KENYA HAS STOPPED PUBLICLY BEING CRITICAL OF AMIN REGIME IN UGANDA, KENYA HAS FOUND AMIN MORE REASONABLE TO WORK WITH. THE WEST MIGHT CONSIDER TAKING SIMILAR TACK WITH HIM. KENYAN RELATIONS WITH SUDAN ARE CLOSE AND WITH TANZANIA ARE IMPROVING ALBEIT SLOWLY. THOUGH KENYA'S TOP PRIORITY REMAINS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, KENYA RECOGNIZES IT MUST UPGRADE ITS MILITARY FORCES AND IS LOOKING FORWARD TO REVIEWING GENERAL HILL'S REPORT. NOTABLY, WAIYAKI DID NOT COMMENT ON DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, ZAIRE, OR OTHER CURRENT CRISES SPOTS IN AFRICA. END SUMMARY.

2. FOREIGN MINISTER WAIYAKI RECEIVED DIRECTOR-DESIGNATE BEYER TWO HOURS AFTER BEYER'S ARRIVAL IN NAIROBI JULY 4 FOR OVER ONE-HOUR DISCUSSION OF KENYAN VIEWS ON ITS FOREIGN POLICY PROBLEMS. AS EXPECTED, WAIYAKI CONCENTRATED HIS REMARKS TO BYER, WHO WAS ACCOMPANIED BY DCM BLANE, ON KENYA'S RELATIONS WITH ETHIOPIA, SOMALIA, UGANDA, SUDAN AND KENYA'S INTEREST IN IMPROVING ITS MILITARY DEFENSIVE CAPABILITY; AND KENYA'S CONTINUING TOP PRIORITY CONCERN FOR ACCELERATING ITS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. NOTABLY NOT RPT NOT INCLUDED IN THIS DISCUSSION WERE KENYA'S CONCERN FOR DEVELOPMENTS IN RHODESIA OR SOUTHERN AFRICA IN GENERAL, THE SITUATION IN ZAIRE OR OTHER PROBLEM AREAS IN AFRICA. A SUMMARY OF WAIYAKI'S COMMENTS FOLLOW.

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3. ETHIOPIA: A) KENYA HAS REMAINED CLOSE TO THE NEW GOVERNMENT OF ETHIOPIA DURING THE TURMOIL THERE SINCE 1974, WAIYAKI SAID, AND, AS RESULT, BELIEVES THAT WHEN THE THREATS TO ETHIOPIA'S TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY IN THE OGADEN AND ERITREA ARE OVERCOME, MARXIST RHETORIC WILL DECLINE, SOVIET AND CUBAN TROOPS AND MILITARY ADVISORS WILL DEPART, AND ETHIOPIA WILL RETURN TO ITS PRIME CONCERN OF NATION BUILDING. IN SUM, KENYANS CONTINUE TO BELIEVE NATIONALISM IS A STRONGER LONG-TERM FORCE IN ETHIOPIA THAN MARXIST IDEOLOGY. KENYA COOPERATED WITH ETHIOPIA WHEN IT WAS ATTACKED BY SOMALIA IN THE OGADEN AND WOULD DO SO AGAUN.

B) WAIYAKI SAID DURING VISITS TO ETHIOPIA IN PAST YEAR, HE HAS CLOSELY QUESTIONED ETHIOPIAN OFFICERS WHETHER RUSSIAN TANKS OR MIG PLANES WERE SYMBOLS OF SOVIET DOMINANCE IN ETHIOPIAN AFFAIRS. ETHIOPIANS CONSISTENTLY REPLIED T-54 WAS ONLY A TANK, A MACHINE, A MEANS TO DEFEND THE COUNTRY. INDEED ETHIOPIA PUT ON AERIAL SHOW FOR KENYANS TO DEMONSTRATE SUPERIORITY OF US-SUPPLIED F-5 AIRPLANES OVER SOVIET MIG 21S. WAIYAKI SAID DEMONSTRATION WAS CONVINCING AND ETHIOPIANS EXPRESSED TO KENYANS THEIR RESPECT FOR AND APPRECIATION OF US-SUPPLIED F-5S.

C) WAIYAKI BELIEVES THERE ARE ALREADY STRAINS IN SOVIET-ETHIOPIAN RELATIONSHIP. AS EXAMPLE HE REPEATED STORY ETHIOPIANS THEMSELVES HAD TOLD HIM. RUSSIANS HAD SUGGESTED THAT ETHIOPIAN PILOTS GO TO USSR TO LEARN TO FLY MIGS BEFORE ANY MIGS SENT TO ETHIOPIA. COURSE WAS TO BE NINE MONTHS. ETHIOPIAN PILOTS, MANY OF WHOM ARE EXPERIENCED AND HAVE BEEN FLYING FOR YEARS, QUICKLY LEARNED PARTICULAR CHARACTERISTICS OF MIG 21S AND, WHEN CONFIDENT OF THEIR ABILITY, ASKED TO HAVE COURSE SHORTENED SO THEY COULD RETURN TO THEIR COUNTRY WHERE THE INSURGENCY IN THE OGADEN WAS BECOMING MORE SERIOUS WITH EACH PASSING DAY. PILOTS BELIEVED RUSSIANS WOULD APPRECIATE THEIR CONCERN. INSTEAD, RUSSIANS INSISTED ETHIOPIANS COMPLETE FULL COURSE AS PLANNED. HEATED ARGUMENT FOLLOWED. IN END,
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PILOTS REFUSED TO STAY IN USSR AND RETURNED TO ETHIOPIA. FURTHER, ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT THEN DEMANDED USSR DELIVER IMMEDIATELY PROMISED MIG 21S. RUSSIA ACCEDED TO ETHIOPIA'S REQUEST AND MIGS WERE DELIVERED. THIS EXPERIENCE STILL RANKLES ETHIOPIANS, WAIYAKI SAID, AND IS USED BY ETHIOPIA AS EXAMPLE OF RUSSIANS UNTRUSTWORTHINESS.

NOTE BY OC/T: MESSAGE DELAYED IN TRANSMISSION.

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 3 NAIROBI 10083

FROM BEYER

D) WAIYAKI SAID HE BELIEVES ETHIOPIAN FOREIGN POLICY GOALS, SO FAR, REMAIN REMARKABLY SIMILAR TO GOALS OF HAILE SELASSIE REGIME, I.E. MAINTAIN TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF THE COUNTRY; IMPROVE WELL BEING OF PEOPLE BY DROUGHT ASSISTANCE, LAND REFORM, AND ACCELERATING ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT; OPPOSE EFFORTS TO MAKE THE RED SEA AN "ARAB LAKE"; AND COUNTER ANY SOMALI EFFORTS TO RESTRICT ETHIOPIAN USE OF DJIBOUTI PORT. CONCERNING DJIBOUTI, WAIYAKI SAID, ETHIOPIA WOULD GO TO WAR WITH SOMALIA TO DEFEND DJIBOUTI INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY.

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E) WAIYAKI URGED THAT US TRY TO IMPROVE ITS RELATIONS WITH ETHIOPIA AND HE WAS PLEASED TO LEARN STEPS IN TRAIN IN THAT REGARD. IN RESPONSE TO COMMENT THAT IF KENYAN ANALYSIS OF ETHIOPIA IS WRONG, ETHIOPIA MIGHT POSE SERIOUS PROBLEM FOR KENYA, WAIYAKI SAID KENYA WELL AWARE SITUATION IN ETHIOPIA IS FLUID AND FRAGILE. KENYA WOULD BE WATCHING DEVELOPMENTS THERE CLOSELY. IT WAS AGREED THAT WE SHOULD STAY IN CLOSE TOUCH.

4. SOMALIA: WAIYAKI SAID HE DOES NOT RPT NOT TRUST SIAD BARRE. HE BELIEVES THAT SOMALIS HAVE NOT GIVEN UP THEIR DESIRE TO ANNEX KENYA'S NEP. FORMER SOMALI AMBASSADOR TO KENYA, WHO DEFECTED AND IS STILL IN NAIROBI, HAS TOLD HIM THAT IF SIAD IS SINCERELY PREPARED TO RENOUNCE CLAIMS ON KENYAN TERRITORY, SIAD WOULD AGREE TO SIGN SOME SORT OF NON-AGGRESSION PACT. NOT TRUSTING SIAD, KENYANS HAVE NOT PUSHED FOR PACT. (NOTE: ALAN MUNROE, EAST AFRICAN DIRECTOR FCO HAD TOLD BEYER IN LONDON JULY 3 THAT UNITED KINGDOM IS URGING BOTH KENYA AND SOMALIA TO CONSIDER NEGOTIATION OF NON-AGGRESSION PACT AND HAD SEARCHED FCO FILES TO PROVIDE EXAMPLES TO KENYA OF WHAT SUCH PACT MIGHT ENTAIL.) WAIYAKI SAID ONLY SOMALI WHOM KENYANS THOUGHT MIGHT LEAD SOMALIA AWAY FROM IRREDENTIST AMBITIONS IS FORMER PM MOHAMED EGAL. IN DISCUSSION OF SOMALI NOMADS, BEYER NOTED THAT NORTHERN SOMALIS (HABY AWAY, HABY YUNIS) MUST SPEND FOUR MONTHS IN HUAD AND NORTHERN OGADEN IN ETHIOPIA EACH YEAR IN ORDER TO

PERMIT FLOCKS TO DROP THEIR NEWBORN OFFSPRING ON LUSH GRASSES THERE FOLLOWING SPRING RAINS. THE TIME SPENT IN ETHIOPIA ALSO PERMITTED GRASSES IN SOMALIA TO RECOVER, SO THAT WHEN NOMADS RETURNED IT WOULD SUPPORT THEM FOR REST OF YEAR. IF SOMALI NOMADS IN THE NORTH COULD NOT GO INTO HUAD AND OGADEN FOR THIS PERIOD EACH YEAR THEY WOULD DIE. WAIYAKI SAID HE RECOGNIZED THAT THIS IS ONE OF THE HARSH AND INTRACTABLE REALITIES OF THE OGADEN PROBLEM. KENYA ALSO HAD SOMALI NOMADS
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WANTING TO CRISSCROSS THEIR BORDER IN THE NEP. THOUGH THE NEED IS NOT AS GREAT AS IN THE NORTH, PRESIDENT KENYATTA INSTRUCTED TO LET THEM DO SO, BECAUSE THEY TOO ARE "HIS CHILDREN." THERE IS CONCERN, WAIYAKI SAID, HOWEVER, THAT THE SOMALIS FROM SOMALIA ARE SUBVERTING THE LOYALTY OF KENYA'S SOMALIS.

5. SAUDI ARABIA: WAIYAKI SAID KENYA RECOGNIZED IMPORTANCE OF SAUDI INTERESTS IN OUTCOME OF HORN SITUATION, AND THEREFORE HIS COUNTRY WAS DETERMINED TO MAINTAIN A DIALOGUE WITH SAUDIS, WHICH WAS EASIER NOW THAT LATTER HAD OPENED A MISSION IN NAIROBI. KENYA THOUGHT THAT IT WAS VERY SHORTSIGHTED OF SAUDIS TO SUPPORT SOMALIS AND ERITREANS, SINCE OVER THE LONG RUN IT WOULD BE MUCH MORE IMPORTANT FOR SAUDI ARABIA TO HAVE GOOD RELATIONS WITH ETHIOPIA THAN WITH SOMALIA.

6. UGANDA: WAIYAKI ASKED ABOUT REPORTS HE HAD READ OF CONGRESS SEEKING TO BAN US IMPORTS OF UGANDAN COFFEE. BEYER EXPLAINED SENSE OF SENATE RESOLUTION ON SUCH IMPORTS. WAIYAKI SAID KENYA WAS ASSISTING UGANDA MOVE ITS COFFEE TO WORLD MARKETS BY PERMITTING UGANDAN PLANES CARRYING COFFEE TO UNLOAD AT MOMBASA FOR SHIPMENT TO WORLD MARKETS. WAIYAKI THEN WENT ON TO EXPLAIN THAT KENYA HAS FOUND UGANDA A BETTER NEIGHBOR IF ATTACKS AGAINST GENERAL AMIN ARE TONED DOWN. KENYA DOES NOT APPROVE OF THE AMIN REGIME OR ITS PAST ATROCITIES AGAINST ITS OWN CITIZENS, BUT WHEN IT STOPPED CASTIGATING AMIN, HE BEGAN TO BEHAVE IN A MORE RESPONSIBLE FASHION. INDEED HE HAS EVEN RELEASED A GOODLY NUMBER OF KENYANS FROM DETENTION AND PERMITTED THEN TO RETURN TO KENYA. WAIYAKI SUGGESTED THE US AND OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES MIGHT CONSIDER A COMPARABLE APPROACH TO AMIN. WE EXPLAINED TO WAIYAKI THAT HOSTILITY TO AMIN IS STILL QUITE HIGH IN US, AS RESOLUTIONS IN SENATE SUGGESTED.

7. SUDAN: KENYA'S RELATIONS WITH SUDAN CONTINUED TO BE CLOSE AND HARMONIOUS. KENYA WOULD LIKE TO SEE EXTENSION OF ROAD CONNECTING TWO COUNTRIES BE EXTENDED FROM NAIROBI TO KHARTOUM SOUTHERN PORTION OF SUDAN HAS ENORMOUS ECONOMIC POTENTIAL
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WHICH COULD BE OF BENEFIT NOT ONLY TO SUDAN BUT THE WHOLE WORLD.
AS INDICATION OF HOW CLOSE KENYA-SUDAN RELATIONS ARE, KENYA
CONTINUES TO ADMINISTER AN AREA OF SOUTH EASTERN SUDAN, THE
ELIMI TRIANGLE, FOR SUDAN.

8. TANZANIA: RELATIONS WITH TANZANIA WILL IN DUE TIME SORT
THEMSELVES OUT. THOUGH BORDER OFFICIALLY CLOSED, THERE CONTINUES
TO BE A GOOD DEAL OF UNOFFICIAL CROSS BORDER TRAFFIC THROUGH
ESTABLISHED BORDER POSTS. THE PEOPLE LIVING ON EITHER SIDE OF
THE BORDER ARE BEHAVING IN A PRACTICAL WAY WAIYAKI SAID.
THERE ARE A GOOD NUMBER OF TANZANIANS ON ANY GIVEN DAY IN NAIROBI.

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S E C R E T SECTION 3 OF 3 NAIROBI 10083

FROM BEYER

9. US MILITARY TEAM REPORT: KENYA IS LOOKING FORWARD TO
REVIEWING MAJOR GENERAL JOHN HILL'S REPORT ON KENYAN MILITARY
FORCES. KENYA'S TOP PRIORITY IS AND WILL REMAIN ECONOMIC

DEVELOPMENT, BUT KENYA TODAY RECOGNIZES THAT SOME FUNDS MUST
BE DIRECTED TO THE SECURITY SECTOR IN RESPONSE TO AREA DEVELOPMENT.

10. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: THIS REMAINS KENYA'S TOP PRIORITY,
AS IT HAS BEEN SINCE INDEPENDENCE. WAIYAKI SAID HE BELIEVES
THE CURRENT DOMESTIC TRANQUILITY AND THE FEELING OF WELL BEING
THAT PERVADES ALL SECTORS OF KENYAN SOCIETY ARE A REFLECTION
IN NO SMALL PART OF KENYA'S CONCENTRATION OF ITS RESOURCES

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ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.
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